THE

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from the Hindu Standpoint.

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THE HINDU MESSAGE stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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MOONS KNOW NO TIME.

Moonlight is memory, though the sun forget;
And moonlight lingers by a crumbling wall,
And grass-grown walks where flagging-stones are set
For feet that pass that way no more at all.
Summers gone by, and laughter that is still,
And hair whose gold is hidden from the sun,
Moonlight, remembering on a lonesome hill,
Might half-return them, one by ghostly one.
Suns mark the days, but moonlight knows no time,
Dreaming all Aprils from a lighted face,
All lovers from a whisper hushed like rhyme;
And summers that have gone and left no trace
Are one with each new summer come to flower,
Moving in moonlight through a haunted hour.

— *The Century.*

Dreams of the Soul.

BY AN INDIN DREAMER.

LXXVIII

When sleep bolted the door of my senses and my mind sat alone in his palace I heard a voice sounding from the land of dreams.

"Pause awhile ! and hear the still harmonies of the soul. Hear the magic flute of Sri Krishna.

You have wandered long enough in the varied land of sense-romance. Do you not now yearn for the undivided bliss of thy true self.

Life is but the total of the shadows of God cast by the clouds of Desires. Do you not yearn to gaze at the golden Sun ?

You have lived long under the tyranny of Passion's rod. Do you not yearn for perfect inner freedom ?"

LXXIX

The burnt incense of Desire is sweet but the natural perfume of the blossomed rose is sweeter yet.

The poet's song of love is sweet but the saint's psalm of Devotion is sweeter yet.

The maiden's kiss in soft and sweet but softer and sweeter is the mother's kiss of benediction.

The yearning of the soul for God is intense but far more intense is the yearning of God for the whole of His creation.

Events of the Week.

A Special cable to the *Statesman* says :—An authoritative quarter states that when the question of admission of Indians to the Dominions was discussed by the Imperial Conference, Australia, New Zeland and Canada were agreeable to the removal of the present restrictions in so far as educated Indians are concerned, provided that no attempt is made to introduce Indian labour. Hitherto Indians have not been allowed to own land or to trade in Australia and New Zealand, and have had to pay a poll tax on entry. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Massey are understood to be in favour of the removal of these restrictions, subject to the condition mentioned. India in return is to open her doors to the Colonies for the purposes of trade and otherwise, and it is expected that, when India has a navy, that navy, will co-operate with the Austrrlian and New Zealand Fleets. Other resources will also be made available as between the various parts of the Empire. The general opinion is that this is the best possible understanding that could be arrived at.

General Smuts' attitude was that although personally he had no objection to the removal of restrictions, he was unable to go against the wishes of the great majority of South Africans.

This statement, if it is true, will no doubt be a fair one. The test of admission will no longer be racial but educational. This is certainly a long step forward in the assertion of India's status in the Empire. The Indians already domiciled in the colonies should, of course, be treated as full citizens in the same sense as Englishmen. We will have still to jealously watch that this belated justice is not made the subject of huckstering or that India's self-respect is not purchased at too high a price in the shape of trade concessions.

* * *

The Government have approved the proposal of the Director of Public Instruction to attach an L. T. class to the Queen Mary's College for Women, Madras, as a temporary measure with effect from July 1921.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. G. Grieve, M.A., Acting Director of Public Instruction in a letter dated, Madras, the 23rd November 1920 had proposed opening a Training College for women, on the ground that the few women graduates who now undergo training at the Teachers' College, Saidapet, do so at very great inconvenience and expense as no suitable hostel accommodation can be provided for them in a college specially intended for men. The consequence has been that, despite the increase in the number of women graduates, there has been no corresponding rise in the number undergoing training, while on the other hand there is an increase in the number seeking exemption from attendance at college which enables them to obtain the L. T. Degree without undergoing training. In the three years 1916 to 1918 three sought exemption as compared with 14 in the last three years.

The rapid expansion of girls' education in this Presidency in recent years has involved the opening of many more girls' high schools and training schools. If these schools are to do useful and efficient work, head mistresses and assistants are required, who as a result of thorough training will be able to cope with the difficult and complex problems connected with the higher education of girls coming from different classes of the community. If on the other hand, the facilities for training continue to be inadequate, we shall soon be faced with the unsatisfactory alternative either of staffing our girls' schools largely with unqualified mistresses, teachers who have taken the L. T. Degree without practical training or men, or of ceasing to open more schools.

The total ultimate recurring expenditure involved by Mr. Grieve's proposals amounted to Rs. 41,180 and the expenditure for 1921-2 to Rs. 26,000. It was however not possible to include a provision of only Rs. 5,000 in the budget estimate for 1921-2 towards the provision of arrangements for the training of women. It was accordingly not possible to open immediately a separate Training College for women as proposed. As an alternative it was suggested that training classes might be grafted on to the Queen Mary's College for women, similar to the classes attached to the St. Joseph's College at Trichinopoly. This proposal while relieving the existing Teachers' College of the need for making special provision for women students has the advantage of enabling the latter to move in an atmosphere of female education.

Mr. Littlehailes accordingly on April 28th submitted proposals for attaching an L. T. class for women to the Queen Mary's College, as a purely temporary measure and the Government have, as stated above, approved these proposals.

* * *

The *Indian Social Reformer* makes the following pertinent remarks regarding Mahatma Gandhi's Injunctions:—There are one or two points in the Swadeshi encyclical, which are fraught with danger and which, if adopted, will lead more to defeating the objects Mahatma Gandhi has in view than strengthening them. We refer to the injunction that all Indian-made cloth, hand-made or mill-made but woven out of foreign imported yarn, should be treated as foreign cloth and should hence be boycotted. If seems to us that this injunction will only create confusion and will kill the hand-loom weaving industry in several places where they weave cloths on some special yarn. Perhaps such yarn cannot be had in India and if the interdiction is applied to such foreign yarn, a great number of hand-loom weavers who are supplying local needs, will be thrown out of work and a blow will be aimed at the hand-loom industry which is slowly raising its head. As in the matter of other items of non-co-operation, even in Swadeshi, the injunctions are being carried to the straining and breaking point and the only result will be an eventual reaction and collapse. In the enthusiasm for Swadeshi and *khaddar* let not the present hand-loom industry be made to suffer, owing to the paucity of Indian yarn or owing to an unnecessary change in local taste and needs. The fine hand-loom industry will then have to be saved not only from Manchester and Japan but from our Khaddar enthusiasts also. Different sorts of cloth are needed in the various places of the country and hand-loom weavers are satisfying the local needs and fashion to some extent. And this monotonous fashion of a *Khaddar* will stifle the artistic productions of our weavers. Hence, it is necessary that the present programme should be modified a bit and the last preference of Swadeshi spirit is allowed to be bestowed on Indian made hand-loom cloth though woven out of foreign yarn. If this exemption also is not granted, the outcome of the present movement can be only looked on with dismay. If the present movement is to succeed, its sponsors, guided by the failure of the Non-Co-operation movement, should not hedge their preseat programme with too many conditions and impracticabilities. Besides, there is the question of cheapness and if Swadeshi yarns are found inferior and costlier, it will only add to the already high price of Indian cloth. 'Leave yarns alone for the present and confine yourselves to the cloth' is our appeal to the Swadeshi workers. The handloom weavers are meeting the needs of certain fashions fit to be preserved and hence any light-hearted tampering with the weavers should be reprobated. They need encouragement, not impracticable suggestions likely to interfere, in the long run, with their well-established trade. As for the proposal to burn all foreign cloth on the 1st of August, it may be suggested that instead of making a gift of them to the Fire-God, they can be presented to the ragged people in our midst. There are hundreds of thousands and millions of our poor with bare rags on their bodies to whom the present of these caat-off foreign cloths of the rich, will be a veritable boon. The Salvation Army is appealing for cloth to the poor in the famine-stricken areas of Guzerat, Deccan and Ahmednagar and these cloths might be sent to them. To burn them under the circumstances, would be a piece of economic suicide and obliquity, if not of unmeaning and fruitless fanaticism.

The Hindu Message

The All India Congress Committee.

The first meeting of the All-India Congress Committee under the new constitution was held in Bombay on Thursday last under the presidentship of that sturdy patriot Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar. The one noticeable feature of the assembly seems to have been its youthful character. Several veteran patriots who have toiled all along for the uplift of their country seem to have been conspicuous by their absence. But it was not a matter of their choice. In the modern political race they find it impossible to keep pace. They are thrown behind without a sigh and youthful enthusiasm abounds all over. Thus we find that several prominent men whose presence was, ere this, considered absolutely indispensable in such gatherings are now keeping aloof and the task of guiding the country through the present troublous times to the goal of swarajya is left in the hands of youthful people who have yet to train themselves for a long number of years before they can hope to attain the profound wisdom, the ripe statesmanship, the wide circumspection and the far-seeing foresightedness of the illustrious veterans. We had, no doubt, at the gathering such towering personalities as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. C. V. Vijayaraghavachariar who have grown grey in the service of their motherland, and we are assured that the latter by his tact and humour, by his fund of technical knowledge of proceedure and ready wit got the assembly to turn many an awkward corner. Mahatma Gandhi was of course there as the central figure, commanding the respect and obedience of all assembled, by his calm and unruffled personality, and by his courage to say and do what he considers to be right and just. He does not care if it is not practical; if he once thinks that a certain course of action is right he at once jumps to the conclusion that it must be immediately adopted. Hence it is that, though every one admires Mr. Gandhi for his simplicity, sincerity, earnestness and lofty ideals, several choose to differ from him when the practical side of things are begun to be considered. But there is no gainsaying the fact that he is the idol of the hour and consequently we are not surprised to hear that Messrs. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, V. J. Patel, N. C. Kelkar and such other prominent Congressmen who brought forward several amendments to many of the Resolutions introduced by Mr. Gandhi found all their arguments and persuations in vain. They found themselves helpless against the tide of youthful enthusiasm. But all the same we greatly admire them for their having courageously stood at their post and unflinchingly given out their views in spite of their knowing full well that it will be a cry in the wilderness. All the glory for them since they have so nobly upheld the best traditions of leadership.

On the first day two important resolutions were passed, from both of which we are sorry we have to differ. The first resolution we allude to is on the visit of H. R. H. The Prince of Wales to our country. It runs as follows:—

"In the event of British Government persisting in bringing to India, the Prince of Wales, in spite of the growing unrest and discontent, the Committee is of opinion that it is the duty of every one to refrain from participating in or assisting in any welcome to His Royal Highness or any functions organised officially or otherwise in connection with the visit. While the committee considers it a painful duty to tender the above advice, it desires to place on record, the opinion that India bears no sort of feeling against the person of His Royal Highness and the advice is tendered because the committee regards the proposed visit as a political move and calculated to give strength and support to a system of government that has resulted in a breach of faith with Mussalmans and atrocious injustice to the people of India as during the Punjab martial law days."

We have entirely to dissociate ourselves from this view of the proposed visit. We agree with Pundit Madan Mohan in considering the visit as merely a conventional one or rather an educational one. It is very many years ago now since Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria decided that it was an essential part of the education of her sons to see as much as possible of the vast Empire over which she ruled. In accordance with this determination her two eldest sons the then Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh made a cruise round the world visiting the British Colonies. This was followed by

the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to India in 1870. His elder brother, the then Prince of Wales followed a few years' later. The Duke of Connaught not merely toured but elected for a tour of service in India and he was followed in 1889-90 by the late Duke of Clarence. Then came the visit of King George V. when he was Prince of Wales in the winter of 1905-6 accompained by the Princess. Later on their Majesties came to India again to be crowned at Delhi. Now H. R. H. The Prince of Wales is simply following the footsteps of his parents and grand-parents and visits India as an essential part of his Educational programme. He has already visited all the other parts of the Empire and it is but fitting that he should know personally something of India also over the destinies of which he may have one day to preside. It is simply absurd to say that he is coming here to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy. On the other hand if he is an acute observer he may take note of the state of affairs here and become a thorn on the side of the bureaucracy. To say that India bears no sort of feeling against the person of His Royal Highness is a platitude too patent to decieve anybody. The loyalty of the people is so deep-rooted that nobody, not even the Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Karvir Peeth, whose article we extract elsewhere, can shake it in spite of all his religious sanction and authority. Coming now to the next resolution viz., the boycott of foreign cloth, we are entirely opposed to that part of the resolution which relates to the destruction of foreign cloth and its being sent out to Smyrna. Especially when millions of our countrymen are either ill-clad or naked it is mere folly to advocate destruction. The very movement of boycott itself was once the pet aversion of Mr. Gandhi. He did his best to throw cold water on it at the Ahmedabad session of the Guzerat Political Conference not only on account of its being "violent in thought" but also on account of its supposed impracticability. It may be within the recollection of our readers that when the question of boycott was introduced in the Congress Resolution at Calcutta Mr. Gandhi characterised it as "an unfortunate interpolation." But now everything is changed. The same Gandhi is now moving heaven and earth to make people regard it as the only means of attaining Swaraj within this year of grace and the people are ready to echo the cry from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Leaving aside for the present this aspect, we would urge that Swadeshism fits better with the programme of non-violent non-co-operation than boycott and even when boycott is practised we do not find the rationale of making a bonfire of all the foreign cloth that is discarded by those who could afford to do so. In the present economic condition of the country it will be a real help to the poor and needy if it is distributed among them and a real benefactor of the country would certainly utilise this opportunity to instil the spirit of Swadeshism among the rich and middle classes and help the poor and needy to clothe themselves with the cast-off garments of the upper classes and thus hail in a tangible from the advent of Swarajya. To make a bonfire of such an immense store of foreign cloth whose value is estimated at about one hundred crores of Rupees in this period of famine and poverty or to send it to a foreign country when so many here are suffering for want of clothing, is to say the least very childish and not the outcome of mature thought. We are constrained to state that we highly deplore this irresponsible display of unnecessary hatred which has gone far to detract from the high ideals of non-co-operation. Coming now to the second day's proceedings we find Mr. Gandhi had to exert his utmost to postpone civil disobedience. The moment civil disobedience is begun to be practised, we are sure the non-violent character of the non-co-operation movement will cease. We hope the catastrophe will be averted and wise statesmanship will prevail.

To Lok. Tilak.

Thou wert a rose in India's hand,
  Thou wert the darling in her lap—
The gallant son that roused the land
  From lapsing into thraldom's nap.
Thou wert a sun, and lit our realm;
  Thou art for e'er a deathless star;
Thou wert our steersman at the helm,
  Thou steeredst us safe thro' depths afar.
A deathless star thou in our sky—
  The star to guide us all aright—
Thy name our banner floating high,
  Mother India's banner streaming bright.
Thy voice was e'er at India's call,
  Thy selfless work lay at her feet;
Thou wert the champion of us all,
  Thou taughtst our hearts the way to beat.
A year has, stealing, fleeted round
  Since rose to God thy noble life;
A year is swiftly going round
  Without thy presence 'midst our strife.
We march on, still, with cheerful hearts,
  With growing strength of mind and soul,
For, didst thou not instil our hearts
  With zeal like thine to reach the goal?
The zeal we have, the fire we want
  Was kindled by thy powerful soul;
No word can spell, no check can daunt
  Us till we reach our birthrights' goal.
Thy name shall cheer us when we tire,
  Whilst onward marching, marching onward,
The will in us, it shall inspire,
  To do and suffer in Freedom's march forward

O. R. R.

Social and Religious.

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition
(The substance of the lectures delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA VIII.

(*continued.*)

अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन्मुक्त्वा कलेबरम् ।
यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ ५ ॥

He who, at the time of death, meditating on me alone, goes forth, giving up the body, attains My Being; there is no doubt of that.

NOTES

1. Sri Nilakanta says that this verse refers to Karma Mukti—*i.e.*, going to Vaikunta by Archiradi Marga and eventually attaining the supreme realisation.

2. This verse is the reply to Arjuna's question contained in the words कथं ज्ञेयोऽसि प्रयतात्मभिः (Verse 2).

3. Sri Madhusoodana says that sagunadhyana leads to the attainment of Nirguna Brahma after going to Satya Loka through archiradimarga while Nigundhyana leads to Brahmaprapti here and at once.

4. Sri Madhwacharya interprets मद्भाव as meaning मयि सत्ताम् ।

यं यं वापि स्मरन्भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेबरम् ।
तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावितः ॥ ६ ॥

Whosoever at the end of life leaves the body, thinking upon any being, he attains that alone, O Kaunteya, because of his constant thought of that being.

NOTES

1. Sri Sankaracharya says that being (भाव) refers to a divine being (देवताविशेष). Sri Madhusoodana says that it means a divine being or any other object.

2. Constant thought brings the idea in the mind even when death paralyses the senses. The idea is the seed and the efficient cause of the next reincarnation. Sri Madhusoodana says well; पूर्वस्मरणाभ्यासजानितान्त्यभाव-नैव तदानीं परवशस्य देहान्तरप्राप्तौ कारणम् ।

3. सदा तद्भावभावितः—Sri Madhwacharya says that Bhava means अन्तर्गतं मनः and that भावित means आतिवासि चित्तम् ।

तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु मामनुस्मर युद्धय च ।
मय्यर्पितमनोबुद्धिर्मामेवैष्यस्य संशयम् ॥ ७ ॥

Therefore, at all times, think upon me only and fight. With mind and the faculty of determination surrendered to me, thou shalt doubtless attain me.

NOTES

1. Hence duty and devotion can and should be combined. Sri Ramanujacharya says well: अहरहरनुस्मृतिकरं युद्धादिकं वर्णाश्रमानुबन्धि श्रुतिस्मृतिचोदितं नित्यनैमित्तिकं कर्म कुरु ।

2. A beautiful verse in the Vishnu Purana says:—

न चलति निजवर्णधमतो यः सममतिरात्मसुहृद्विपक्षपक्षे ।
न हरति न च हन्ति किंचिदुच्चैः सितमनसं तमवेहि विष्णुभक्तम् ॥

अभ्यासयोगयुक्तेन चेतसा नान्यगामिना ।
परमं पुरुषं दिव्यं याति पार्थानुचिन्तयन् ॥ ८ ॥

Through the mind which is rooted in constant and uninterrupted devotional effort and which is not given to wandering elsewhere, he, meditating continually, attains, O Partha, the Supreme Purusha.

NOTES

1. The Samadhi Yoga described in Chapter IV is referred to here by the word Abhyasa Yoga.

2. The supreme illumination and the supreme realisation are well described in the following two great stanzas:

मणिहुतवहतारासमसूर्यादयोऽपि
क्षितिविषयमिहाल्पं बाह्यमुद्योतयन्ति ।
सह जलमसमुत्थं द्योतयेज्ज्योतिरन्तः
त्रिभुवनमपि सूक्ष्मस्थूलभेदक्रमेण ॥

यथा नद्यः स्यन्दमानाः समुद्रे
ऽस्तं गच्छन्ति नामरूपे विहाय ।
तथा विद्वान्पुण्यपापे विधूय
परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥
(Sruti)

3. Sri Ramanujacharya says that this stanza and stanzas 9 and 10 describe स्मरणप्रकार (the manner of final meditation) of the ऐश्वर्यार्थि (he who desires ऐश्वर्य)

Politics and Samnyasins.

By G. RAMACHANDRA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

1. Varnashrama Dharma has fallen into such evil days that, exactly as among the four Varnins many a Brahmana himself of the foremost caste has come to be told about the virtue of Varna Dharma, many a Samnyasin of the highest Ashrama (and wonderfully enough, among those of the order, the very one who claims to be in the position of a Jagadguru Shankaracharya) has yet to be told about the fundamentals of the Samnyasa Dharma in reference to politics and other concerns of the mundane world. I have read with mixed feelings the lecture on the "Ethics of Swarajya" delivered by His Holiness Swami Shri Bharati Krishna Teertha Jagadguru Shankaracharya of the Dwaraka Mutt, which is published in the "Hindu Message" of 14—7—1921, pages 165-7. A reading of this lecture and of the correspondence by the Swami's Mutt Manager Mr. Shivaswami, which also appeared in the same issue of the Journal, page 172, will make it clear what the Swami's position is in regard to the part Samnyasins may take in the active politics of the day. There is further the fact that the Swami actually took part in the Nagpore Congress held last year and that the very lecture mentioned above was delivered at a meeting held under the auspices of the Girgaon District Congress Committee.

2. The lecture begins with an observation that people in India have been taught for centuries past to think that the duty of a spiritual teacher is to withdraw himself from the world and pass his days in contemplation and so on and that it is beyond his jurisdiction to go into things connected with political and other worldly matters. Wherefrom His Holiness derived this quite an original piece

of knowledge remains, and ought to remain, perhaps unknown. His observation evidently presumes that every spiritual teacher ought to be a Samnyasin, which is wrong. There are, and there have been, spiritual teachers of great eminence among Grihasthas, and nobody has ever said that they ought not to enter into political and such other matters. The scheme of spiritual education under our great Aryan system is so wonderfully laid that Dharma in its widest sense, Dharma embracing, as His Holiness rightly says, all activities of the life of man from birth to death, may be fully secured to us by our being made to follow the Shastras which, as observed by the swami, have laid down rules for everything and brought all life within the purview of Dharma, including the political and even the sexual. There can be indeed spiritual education going on at every stage from the lowest mere animal concerns up to the highest Atmic realisation.

3. Spiritual education may be brought under two main heads:—(1) That of the active Pravritti kind and (2) that of the retiring Nivritti kind. It is not convenient or ordinarily possible to have both the kinds of training under the same teacher. A teacher who is of the retiring disposition and who has attained genuine Nirveda after true Lokapareeksha cannot successfully guide the disciple in all the manifold activities of the largely detailed Pravritti Dharma. Nor can, similarly, the one who is immersed in such activities of Pravritti Dharma be considered competent, however intelligent and learned, to properly take the disciple along the path of Nivritti Dharma, the path of renunciation of activities, of calm resignation. That is why among the Hindus, even though all kinds of right training have undoubted reference to Dharma, training in Pravritti Dharma is had under a teacher who, as a Grihastha, is himself more or less an ideal follower of that Dharma, and training in Nivritti Dharma is had under a Samnyasin who has renounced all activities including those of the Pravritti Dharma.

4. Now it may be clear in what particular sense a Samnyasin is a spiritual teacher. He is a teacher or Guru in the view that his very life of renunciation (Samnyasa) is an object-lesson and that he alone (and even here not every Samnyasin but only a Paramahamsa and so forth) is qualified to make an Upadesha of the loftiest Mahavakya of the Veda to the one who enters into the final Ashrama. The Guru Samnyasin explains the truths of the Vedanta, in all their aspects theoretical and practical, to the Shishya Samnyasin and sometimes to others also, to the former for the comprehending of the full significance of the Mahavakya given to him and to the latter (the others), if they (being otherwise sufficiently qualified) go to him for the purpose of knowing something about the highest truths in order that they may in due time aspire to realise them in life by proper means. A Samnyasin is a teacher only so far. The position of a Jagadguru is in no way different in this respect. He is a Jagadguru only because he represents the line of the Great Shri Bhagavatpada Shankaracharya who, having been an Avatara of Eshwara Himself, was able to become the universally recognised and adored Shanmatasthapanacharya, the mighty reviver of the six great systems of our Devotional Divine Wisdom in their pure forms. Whether Jagadguru Samnyasins or ordinary Samnyasins, the Veda-Shastraic rules of the Ashrama are equally binding on all. If his Holiness of the Dwaraka Mutt thinks otherwise, I most submissively request him through this journal ("The Hindu Message") to point out any Shastraic authority to the contrary. I have made bold to make this request through this medium because the Swami himself is contributing to it even by going out of the way. I can understand a Grihastha being inquisitive to know (See "Hindu Message" of 19—5—1921, page 44) the exact personality of a particular Samnyasin and expecting to be informed about it by others like himself. It was indeed extraordinary to find that the Swami himself* rushing to the Press disclosed his personality (see Hindu Message of 9—6—1921, page 91) by sufficient identification in reference to his Poorvashrama. Evidently the Swami is not aware of the wholesome Vedic rule of prohibition that Samnyasins ought not to make such disclosures themselves. नाम गोत्रादिचरणं देशं कालं श्रतं कुलम् । वयो वृत्तं व्रतं शीलं ख्यापयन्नैव सद्यतिः ।)

5. Coming back to our point, I may plainly tell His Holiness that I may not be very much behind him in attacking or condemning the several wrong views of life and things coming from the world-bound West, but that no erroneous conception in regard to the matter on hand has been at all imported into this country from the West as mentioned by him. The Swami may rest assured that so far as religion and philosophy are concerned the work of the West in the East is more a work of destruction than of substitution. This is only by the way. It is the function of those who are in active life doing Karma to take part in political and other Pravritti-Dharmic concerns. It is the duty of Samnyasins, whose direct aims are Jnana and Mukti, to keep away altogether from all such concerns by taking to Nivritti Dharma which alone can lead to absolute Naishkarmyam. The full import of the Vedic truth प्रवृत्तिलक्षणं कर्म ज्ञानं सन्यासलक्षणम् ।—ought to be constantly in the mind of every aspiring Samnyasin. The Swami and all the rest of his views should remember that Samnyasins who take any active part in any concern are declared by the Shruti to be as despicable as Grihasthas who remain inactive in violation of their prescribed duties of action:—

द्वाविमौ न विराजेते विपरीतेन कर्मणा ।
निरारम्भो गृहस्थश्च कार्यवांश्चैव भिक्षुकः ॥

6. Many Samnyasins in these days try to justify their active connection with politics and works of Prachara, organisation and the like on the ground of Lokasangraha or welfare of the world. Some of them sincerely believe they are in fact so justified. People in the world who know nothing of the Samnyasa-Dharmas also feel that Samnyasins may, if not, are even bound to, work in view of Lokasangraha. We have only to blame the times, the dark Age Kalivuga. Lokasangraha is no doubt very good and necessary too. But the question is who is to work for it. It is the one, the Grihastha, whose function is active work, not a Samnyasin whose aim is Naishkarmyasiddhi. That Lokasangraha is good and necessary is no reason to say that Samnyasins can or must work for it. It is indeed a wonder that people nowadays freely take to Samnyasa without

* As we stated in our last issue it was the Private Secretary of His Holiness that had written the letter referred to.—Ed. H. M.

ascertaining beforehand even the essentials of the Ashrama Dharma. That Samnyasins ought not to work for Lokasangraha and ought not even to make others work for it is a positive rule of the Vedic Upanishad:—

लोकसंग्रहयुक्तानि नैव कुर्यान्न कारयेत् ।

The rule is a necessary one in view of the special object of true Samnyasa life. It is also on essential condition of that life, which is one of retirement and renunciation, that there ought to be no room given to Samnyasins to move closely with Grihasthas and others of active life. This condition is specifically laid down by the Shruti:— वानप्रस्थगृहस्थाभ्यां न संसृज्येत कर्हिचित् । Further, the growing mania in many modern-day Samnyasins, especially those who have had English education, to appear amidst crowds of people and to pass for public speakers is highly preposterous and directly offends the Vedic injunction which is clearly found in the words:—

महाजनेषु सिद्धयर्थी न गच्छेद्योगवित्कचित् ।
अतिवादांस्त्यजेत्तर्कान्पक्षं कंचन नाश्रयेत् ॥

7. In fact, to a proper Yati or Samnyasin there can be nothing remaining to be actually done by him. If he thinks that there is any such thing remaining, he is still only in the stage of action and he cannot claim to be a Samnyasin who has made a thorough (सं) relinquishment of activity (न्यास.) See the Vedic declaration:—न यतेः किंचित् कर्तव्यमस्ति । अस्ति चेत् सांकर्यम् । The only kind of activity in which a Samnyasin can be properly engaged is the mental one of Atmanusandhana. He cannot if he wants to remain a Samnyasin proper, be engaged otherwise. So goes the Upanishadic Vakya in unambiguous terms:—

तस्मान्मननादौ संन्यासिनामधिकारः । स्वरूपानुसन्धानं विना अन्यथाचारपरो न भवेत् ।

If, as so far seen, a Samnyasin has nothing left to be done by him except Manana and Nididhyasana, it follows as a corollary that there can be no occasion or necessity for him to mingle with other Samnyasins except, of course, in the event of a Guru and a Shishya being together for the purpose of the latters' training. While so, we sometimes hear of assemblages, even organised associations, of Samnyasins as the one actually formed at Nagpur after the holding of the Congress Session there. Of course, we cannot expect anything better from the Samnyasins who, in utter ignorance of the Shastraic rules of their order, mustered strong (about 150 in number) and took part in the Congress itself. The Veda emphatically prohibits the meeting together of Samnyasins even in twos, threes and so on and points out that the Samnyasin who violates this rule of conduct slips down from Swadharma, and it further apprehends that unnecessary meetings of Samnyasins might even lead to a talk of Rajavarta (politics) and the like among them (an act evidently condemned by the Shruti). Politics, a necessity no doubt in the world, may loom large in the eyes of the worldly-minded, but is a trash in the view of the genuine spiritually minded Samnyasin. The Vedic passage in question is the following:—

एको भिक्षुर्यथोक्तः स्याद्द्वेव मिथुनं स्मृतम् ।
त्रयो ग्रामः समाख्यात ऊर्ध्वं तु नगरायते ।
नगरं न हि कर्तव्य ग्रामो वा मिथुनं तथा ॥
एतत्त्रयं प्रकुर्वाणः स्वधर्माच्च्यवते यतिः ।
राजवार्तादि तेषां स्याद्भिक्षा वार्तापरस्परम् ॥..............

8. It is enough if our present-day Samnyasins, who appear in awe-inspiring Kashaya robes and all that, will know what true Samnyasa is and what really they are now and why. To plainly speak out the truth, teaching is no necessary function of a true Samnyasin and there is only one kind of Samnyasa and that is complete Sarvasangaparityaga, the giving up of everything including every kind of attachment too. The one who does it has only his bare physical body (in its natural state) remaining. Having sustained Brahma-Pranava-Dhyana, he wanders about, rather his body does so, in solitude in river-sides and temples, in hills and forests, until the body falls at the close of its Prarabdha Karma. The Vedic description of such a true Samnyasin is as follows:—

स्वरूपानुसंधानं कुर्वन्...........जातरूपधरश्चरेत् । एष संन्यासः, । पर्वतवनदेवालयेषु सञ्चरेत् । दिगम्बरः......सर्वदानन्दस्वानुभवैकपूर्णहृदयः कर्मातिदूरलाभः प्राणधारणपरायणः फलरसत्वक्पत्रमूलोदकैर्मोक्षार्थी गिरिकन्दरेषु विसृजेद्देहं स्मरंस्तारकम् ॥ तत्त्वतस्त्वेक एव संन्यासः ।..........

The portions underlined should be noted in particular. It is to those who are not fit to take to this extreme step in full renunciation Samnyasa (तदधिकारी न भवेद्यदि । अज्ञानेनाशक्तिवशात्कर्मलोपतश्च ।) as the Veda puts it) some lower stages of preparation in renunciation are prescribed giving the very name "Samnyasins" also to them because they have given up their lower Ashramas and because in the Shastraic course of procedure in so giving up they are made to pass through the form of absolute renunciation though for a moment only. The position of these "Samnyasins", for whose very appearance and conduct in life and for whose training in Jnana the Shruti and the Smriti have prescribed elaborate rules, may now be clear. They have ceased to belong to their former Ashramas. They are now only so to say, preparatory Samnyasins, not Samnyasins proper yet. At this stage their only duty is to strive to soon become the Veda-mentioned ideal Samnyasins in both spirit and appearance (संन्यासकालेऽप्यलंबुद्धिपर्यन्तमधीत्य तदनन्तरं कटिसूत्रं कौपीनं दण्डं वस्त्रं कमण्डलुं सर्वमप्सु विसृज्याथ जातरूपधरश्चरेत् ।) unless they desire, as far as allowed by the Shastra, to go back to their Poorvashrama stages by undergoing Shastraic Prayaschittams, Choula-Karma once again, Punar-Upanayana also and such like. It should be borne in mind however that such a going back is generally not allowed. It can be possible only in rare cases of extreme inability and sincere regret within a reasonable time. There is no use dangling midway between two Ashramas without either striving to reach the goal above or honestly preferring to retrace the steps, if this were possible, though it may be in shame. Working in politics and similar matters will become perfectly justified after this retracing in the prescribed mode is completed and not till then. Let not our preachers and workers in Kashaya robes pretend to be Samnyasins striving towards perfection in renunciation and at the same time engaging themselves in the opposite direction. Our Vedic Religion does not allow it, and it certainly makes no exception even in the case of a Jagadguru.

9. I consider it needless to add more quotations from the Veda to show that His Holiness of the Dwaraka Mutt is entirely wrong in his views and procedure. He must understand properly his duties and responsibilities as a Jagadguru Samnyasin and stop taking part in politics and such other activities of the lower Grihastha life. He will do well to ascertain his Swadharma first before he takes it into his head to teach the Dharma of politics to others. Much of what he has said in his lecture may be true, but let him, at least in obedience to hoary tradition which alone has given him his present position, leave the field of politics entirely in the hands of those, lesser souls though they may be, who are in fact more competent to deal with them. Being a Jagadguru, the Swami should lead an exemplary Samnyasa life, though necessarily of the lower kind, without trying to show as if all the mighty Poorvacharyas who have scrupulously followed the Veda-Shastraic provisions relating to the lofty Ashrama and who have never troubled themselves with politics and so forth were either fools or ignorant men. I have not written this in any spirit of hate or dislike. I have known the Swami in his Poorvashrama, though I have not moved with him closely. I have not known Mr. N. K. Venkatesan M. A. who is criticising the Swami adversely. Nor am I an admirer of everything done or said by the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. The Samnyasins who are actively working on behalf of the Mahamandal as Secretaries or other office-bearers are in no better position than the Samnyasins who are actively engaged in other directions and whose conduct has been shown above to be highly objectionable. I pray that His Holiness, shrewd as he is and learned in literature both Samskrita and English, will soon see his way to get rid of his present mistaken notions and save the people of this land of Dharmic spirituality from the danger of a fall by bad example and indiscreet guidance.

N. B.—I have not, in this Article, touched the now familiar question of "Untouchability" in reference to which His Holiness exhibited himself at the Nagpore Congress as if to rid Hinduism of a bane of its own. If the Swami really cares for our Veda-Shastraic Literature and yet insists on supporting the new school of reform in this matter, I request him to reveal, through this Journal, the Shastraic authority on which he relies. I shall then, in my own humble way, try to meet all that he may say by referring him to overwhelming authority from the Sutras, the Smritis and the like. If however the Swami is a Jagadguru who will not care for our Shastras, I shall have nothing more to do with him.

Dharmic Aspect of Non-Co-operation.

By Shri Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Karvir Peeth

India is a land of Dharma. The structure of Hinduism has been pre-eminently based on the sound principles of religion and philosophy, which bear on all science and art, theory and practice alike,—their range, in fact, covering all human dealings from marketing to meditation. The Dharmic Hindu sits and dines with Mantras and sleeps and dies with Sutras. The Vedic commandments tell him how to bathe and to bake, to till and to mill, to break and to build, to pray and to fight, guiding him, in short, through Matter as well as Spirit. The Hindu Dharma is thus all-pervading throwing light as it does on the manifold activities of man from birth to death and again from death to birth. It has well been defined to be that which leads to material prosperity and spiritual bliss. (यतोऽभ्युदयःनिश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः— Vaisheshik). Its hand, thus, can even be traced in the present movement in the country—Non-co-operation. Considered though it generally is as purely political and hence secular in character, the relation in which it affects the people to-day is not only passive but also active. Our Dharma can lead us on even through this ordeal successfully to our goal, viz., real progress at once material and spiritual. The movement by its soul-force traces its origin in Dharma, so long a neglected department, much more than in politics and hence the attempt to discuss the Dharmic aspect of the subject at hand so that it may serve as a guide to the people to restore the pristine sacredness of India, the only country singled out among all other nations for that very cause.

A king is essentially for the welfare of the subjects under his wings. According to our Shastras, the king must have at heart the good of his people both material and spiritual, and must work in consequence for their all-sided development—Shri Rama being in this respect on all hands looked upon as the most ideal king ever known to History. "No one can be a king that has no devine nature" (नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः) says the Smriti! And our ancient works like the Ramayan and the Mahabharat and poems too like the Raghuvamsha lay no little stress in dwelling at length on royal duties and the paternal feelings of the Crown. By providing for the protection, livelihood and education of their subjects, many ancient Indian kings carried the credit of being their parents *de jure*. (Cf. (प्रजानां विनयादानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि स पिता पितरस्तासां कवल जन्म हेतवः। Raghuvamsha). The people used to follow their usual path of life and to do the bidding of their conscience, and never had to higgle or fight with the government to get any wrong set right, because there was scarcely any wrong in those days. Each party did its best to fulfil its work in such a selfless spirit and along such righteous lines that there was no question of "conflicting interest" and hence no ferment or friction. Like the sun sucking up water by sips and sending it down in showers, the magnanimous rulers of old India levied taxes on the people only to spend money accruing therefrom for the benefit of the ruled themselves. (Cf. प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् । सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः। Raghuvamsha.) The subjects never scrutinised Shri Rama's budget, never objected to his ways of raising money or criticised his items of expenditure; there was never angry exchange of words—sarcasm from below, whips from above in those councils; no duplicity—searching from below, hiding from above; the interpellations never smelled of harm to the ruled and hypocrisy on the part of the rulers: the ministers never had to take shelter under prestige and to shut their eyes to the pangs of the people. And what was at the bottom of such smooth sailing? There was no selfishness, no distrust; but all goodness and unity of purpose, in other words, Dharma.

Imbued with these heavenly ideas of royalty, we came to look upon the British Emperor as the

protector of the weak, the educator of the young, the feeder of the hungry, and in short, our well-wisher, "grieving at our grief and rejoicing at our bliss." But we were at last to be disappointed. Living as the Emperor does, thousands of miles away from this country,—his representatives come here only to act up to the contract and disappear, never to entertain any genuine feelings for our country, ever looking at the downkeep of the "dependency". Again the present Emperor of India is not an Indian, does not even pass a few days in the year in India and hence cannot even have a clear idea of what the legitimate aspirations of Indians are. He does not, therefore, seem to deserve the respect which our Shastras ask us to pay to a king, whose duty it is to defend and to nourish all that is good in India for India's sake. He may be wielding power over us and may be making promises to promote our interests; but his word is scarcely ever carried out by his agents here in that genuine spirit in which it is uttered. And thus he falls much too short of the Indian standard of royalty. Soon it was brought to light that the British rule was not principally for our interests and we realised that we had to secure our own rights and provide for our own wants. The British bureaucrats have not only destroyed our material prosperity but have almost succeeded in corrupting the spirit of Indians. The one-sided literary education on western lines introduced by the interested efforts of Chiristan missionaries and furthered vigorously by Macaulay and others degraded our racial and national consciousness, the fundamental characteristics, the inherited Samskaras of our race. Legislation has obscured the dignity of moral law and bred in us deceit and falsehood. The Excise department has been a source of income to the Government no doubt, but it is threatening to be the volcano of vice and misery spreading the lava of poverty among the masses. Their Ecclesiastical department too, encouraging their missionaries at the cost of Indian purse, has indirectly worked for the decay of Dharmic instincts. They have been, avowedly, indifferent to our Dharma, the mainstay of our morals and the soul of our society. But even this indifference is tinged with convenient blindness, the secret ignorance regarding the facilities given to Christian missionaries, who, with large funds to draw upon and with the confidence of the ruling race to depend upon, not only converted the famine-stricken of our country but almost shook our faith in religion and morals. This holy work of Christian missionaries went on unimpeded for several years. No one of us could champion the cause of our Dharma partly as we were void of funds and royal patronage and partly as the new struggle for life set up against our old system of division of labour afforded no leisure for that kind of work. Nor could the Dharma-Gurus whose special duty it is to promote unity and amity among the various classes, to foster wholesome relations between the rulers and the ruled by pointing out to them their respective duties and to mediate between them whenever any difficulty cropped up (without allowing of any subordination to anybody) and to minimise the misery of the people by strengthening their faith in the Almighty, make their existence felt owing to want of confidence of the Government. Thus the confidence of the spiritual, selfless and simple Indians in the material, selfish and diplomatic Englishmen proved to be unnatural, misplaced and suicidal.

The last European war has disclosed to us what mere material civilisation is capable of. Leaving aside the black lies, double dealings and childish grabbings, that were the outstanding features of the beginning and end of the war, the very operations of the war stand no comparison with Indian ways of fighting. Our old works lay down that no woman, no child was to be killed; the fainted the helpless, the weaponless were not to be attacked, and no deceit was to be practised in fighting. On the other hand, in the last European war deceit was counted to be skill, science was utilised to take lives and nothing was allowed to be sacred. Now enough of this materialism! Adieu to the system of Government that deprives us of our faith in our Dharma, in our parents, in our Guru as also in our king! Erring as we grievously did in looking confidently like our ancient kings, upon the present rulers we turn back to our own civilisation to realise our own Self.

Admittedly the British mechanism in India has, thus, resulted in moral degeneration, political chaos, economical bankruptcy, industrial annihilation, social decomposition and physical impotency. In Briton too, though it has added to its wealth, pomp and power, it has, as was expected, succeeded in rousing only the baser self of man. The British pusillanimity has only served to hinder the progress of Indians. Tip any part, open any pimple, or examine any wound you are sure to come to this same diagnosis of our National disease.

What, then, is the remedy? To turn a new leaf in civilisation what must Indians do? Well, we had been groping in the dark for the last fifty years to find a solution of the problem but at last in 1920 the nation hit upon the right point. Our Dharma tells us to turn away from those who censure our God and Guru if we cannot silence the detractors. (Cf. यथाशक्तिनिगृह्णीयाद्देवतागुरुनिन्दकान् । and गुरोर्यत्र परीवादो निन्दा वापि प्रवर्तते । कर्णौ तत्र पिधातव्यौ गन्तव्यं वा ततोऽन्यतः ॥)

Standing as the British Government does between ourselves and our civilisation, imitation will not do: we must have recourse to intuition and innovation. As we cannot remove the stumbling block in our path let us turn our back upon it. Non-co-operation with the British bureaucracy is, thus, indeed, the only remedy open to us against our National disease. It is natural in so far as Indians have excelled in simplicity; it is religious inasmuch as we revert to realise our former higher tradition and revive our faith in Dharma; it is philosophical because it enjoins us to fearlessly advocate a return to the purity of our self casting aside the present sinful ways of thinking and living and unites us all by a common bond in spite of so numerous, apparent, diversities mischievously magnified by the Christian missionaries. The remedy is at once simple and effective, humane and lasting purely Indian in character and supported by ancient writings. To achieve some grand object our efforts have to be two-fold—to prepare the ground and then to commence the actual work. To build a road through a forest we cut down the trees and prickles, remove the thorns and dry up quagmires and then metalling begins. Similar operations have to be gone through in the cultivation of our

self. Our sages first create a disgust for worldl pleasures in the minds of ordinary men and then lead them on to the knowledge of the Absolute. The former state is negative and the latter positive: destruction for construction. They restore old edifice, then, we must begin by destroying the causes of our universal degeneration that has sprung from our relying upon the British contractors, yes, contractors, for the alien bureaucracy has ever exploited our country in their interests in utter disregard of the royal obligations. Let us get ourselves rid of the slavery to them who deprived us of our fare, never wishing us well. Practise Non-co-operation with them and you save yourselves from further fall. We co-operated with them for the last 150 years and have been paying the penalty therefore all along. From some "enlightened" circles it is urged that co-operation amply pays in the form of high culture and social elevation. But are the British bureaucrats ready to co-operate with you in anything at all? No, certainly not. They want you to lend a soft helping hand in sending their purse of gold form Delhi to Whitehall, and again your hand is not to feel what it lifts, your tongue not to move except in support! They have never mixed with you in other relations and would never want you to mix with them, as a rule. Honest writers like Seeley predicted such Non-co-operation long ago, but the Nation yawned through pangs of hunger only recently to open its eyes on the true state of things. The sentiment expressed in contempt by Kipling in the well-known lines:

"East is East and West is West,
And the twain shall never meet,"

is realised by us only recently. But this Non-co-operation, this potent inaction is not our goal; but a means to an end. This negative current must meet with a positive one to produce a spark that may one day flash the dawn of Swarajya never to fade whereby alone we can revive and enliven our confidence in Swadharma. Self-reliance will naturally shoot up in the National mind, after it has gone through the said purifying penance. In vain shall we try to outshine the Westerners in their own sphere. They have advanced so far in science and art, they are now exercising such power, and they possess such stock of gold that it would be ridiculous for a child to join a giant far ahead in the race. Let us learn to stand on our own legs, then, however disabled and weak they be, Cf. यद्यत्परवशं कर्म तत्तद्यत्नेन वर्जयेत् । यद्यदात्मवशं तु स्यात्तत्तत्कुर्वीत यत्नतः ॥............Manu.) Let us use our own materials, weave our own cloth, till our lands, educate our children, cast iron, settle our differences and manage the purse in our own lines. This self-reliance is the kernal of the movement, and the holy Bhagavadgeeta corroborates this by saying that one should elevate oneself by one's own efforts (Cf. उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानम्.)

Our Sanatan Dharma never leaves us in the cold; it always supports and encourages a non-violent activity leading to the realisation of the Self. Self-restraint will be the watch-word of all Non-co-operators. It is very probable that British bureaucrats should look upon our conspicuous moves with suspicion and impatience and should try to create obstacles in our ways. Still the sincere workers must keep their balance of mind without meaning the least violence in thoughts, words or deeds. Our Holy Mother, India, will regain freedom not by our mercilessly killing others but by ourselves being innocently killed by them. The more we suffer the sooner will our cause succeed; and success will be achieved in proportion to the sufferings and sacrifices of the noble, enthusiastic, righteous sons of the country (Cf. उपकारमायते भृशं प्रस्रवः कर्मफलस्य भूरिणः । अनपाय निबर्हणं द्विषां न तितिक्षासममस्ति साधनम् ॥ Kiratarjuniya).

It is also very likely that those who throw in their lot with this movement, should run down those who obstruct their path by disregarding the Congress resolution. Such an ill-feeling is not however desirable. Let every one be at liberty to choose either Non-co-operation or responsive co-operation; and let each one do what little he can towards the national progress. Bibhishana abandoned Ravana's cause after trying his best to persuade him towards Dharma. But Bhishma stuck to the party of Duryodhana raising his voice all the while against the satanic deed of the king; still just in the nick of the time that great Acharya wholeheartedly helped the cause of the Pandavas, and laid down even his life to allow truth and justice to shine. In like manner, whoever continue to practise in the present law courts or continue to be in Government service or legislative councils are our brothers and will, when necessary, rise to the need of the moment. They can never mar the onward march of our Nation, they will never forget that great men like Gandhi and others are but striving for the good of Indians in general and in the corner of the heart they do feel sympathy for the movement of the day.

Attempts have been made from some quarters to cast a slur on the Non-co operation movement as having been an outcome of racial hatred. But no ill-feeling has anything to do with this National purification. We have never hated any race nor any caste. Trained in religious toleration by our sacred works like the Bhagvadgita we have ever since welcomed all foreigners and treated them fraternally so long as they followed their vocation peacefully and innocently. Among ourselves there are so many sects, and yet no sensible man has ever advocated the assimilation of them all, but all have strained every nerve to substitute mutual love, leaving no room for hatred. On the contrary, hundreds of cases can be quoted wherein the British expressed their hatred for Indians, "the blacks"; still we do not hate them, but only feel disgusted with their injustice and hence turn our faces away from them, trying to elevate our own self by means independent of them. Those who fancy that they are co-operating with the British bureaucarcy, are really practising slavery but not co-operation; for, co-operation means a common level for both the parties. But under certain circumstances Non-co-operation is singularly an efficient means to co-operation in so far as it serves to pull down the conceited and arrogant party to the due level so as to enable both the parties to mutually exchange their ideas and ideals freely and open-heartedly with a view to being helpful to each other in the cause of progress and enlightenment. The very word Non-co-operation implies a desire for co-operating with a disappointment thereabout resulting from past experiences. Nevertheless wilful misunderstanding of the genuine feelings of Non-co-operators may lead to imaginary attribution of mean motives to them and

will, no doubt, serve as a ground for repression on the part of Government. Leaders will be arrested, meetings dissolved, houses searched and workers imprisoned or mobs dispersed by fire. But keeping your head cool all the while, bear all repression calmly, have no idea of vengeance, utter no curses, keep aloof from violence, but speak out your mind even before Death emphatically, explicitly, and unequivocally. Yet, beware that you do not use those strong epithets (like Satanic Government) though they be just true in your opinion and used by your leaders whose minds are too fair to be excited by their own utterance thereof and hence whose words do not offend those against whom they are levelled. Dharma tells us: "hostility cannot be put down by hostility, meet it with humanity and non-violence and there it ends." Let Government use repressive measures to any extent it pleases; that will only serve to undermine its prestige. All frantic efforts of the bureaucrats to put down the movement will tend to strengthen your cause only when your minds are free from excitement. This movement is not individual, nor is it local, but the result of the slow but gradual, preparation of the minds of the people during the last 50 years kindled into action by the example and the precept of great leaders like Gandhi. It is a National, universal penance of self-purification, and as such can never be crushed by shooting or imprisonment that affect individuals. Dharmic endurance has at all times proved very successful. Recall to your mind the old days of Prahlad, of the Pandavas and only imagine the sufferings they were subjected to. They stood the test, proved true to their Dharma and in the long run, were triumphant. So shall you be. Yet you should always bear in mind that it is not possible to revive ancient institutions in toto. The spirit must be preserved, though the forms may change in conformity with the times and the modern civilisation should also be availed of while reviving the ancient spirit.

It is, thus, with this Dharmic power that we, though otherwise powerless, can defeat our detractors; because that has ever been their weak point. In the same way did Shri Rama defeat Ravana, sending against him assailants and weapons that had been looked upon as trifles, and hence left out of account by that enemy of mankind. Hold fast then to Dharma which teaches us to lead a life of simplicity and sincerety, to live and to die for truth and justice, to face assaults with a cool head and non-violence, to observe self-reliance, self-sacrifice, self-restraint, and self-respect at each and every step, and above all to trust the Omnipotent who relieves the oppressed and "helps those who help themselves."

—Maharatah.

Varnashrama Dharma Conference—Tanjore.

It has been resolved by the Reception Committee that in view of certain public comments (through Vernacular and English newspapers), adverse to the interest of the Madras Provincial Vranashrama Dharma Conference, charging its authors as endeavouring to deepen a party spirit, the following announcement, being originally the draft of the Organising Secretary, be sent for publication in all newspapers to proclaim that their objects are the most catholic consistant with Dharma or the Law.

1. That this assembly holds that some kind of organisation has always and everywhere existed and will of necessity exist. While the necessity is thus seen through time and space to be universal, it is also the experience of men that *no modern social organisation* has been found good for any long period of time. This is especially the case with the modern European societies. The modern organised efforts to improve public morals and to regenerate the race bear sufficient testimony to this.

2. That this assembly therefore holds that of all social organisations the most ancient and still surviving without much fault or fail—the system of Varnashrama Dharma is the most efficient and cannot be put away as an unmixed evil. History proves that by the strength of such powerful social organisations alone the Hindu nation has been braced up against ages of aggression, mis-rule and exploitation, and that by the same strength again the nation must revive, if it must retain its identity.

3. That this assembly further holds that all the present-day economic and political difficulties have arisen in India, *not* on account of caste system, for *that* has always existed, even when such difficulties were not dreamed of, *but* on account of our faithlessness to the principles of Varnashrama Dharma. The Brahmin is degraded and corrupt; the Kshatriya is nowhere visible; the Vaisya is selfishly mindful of wealth; and the Sudra clamours for prerogatives only. The old ideal of love and renunciation holding up, as it were, the four limbs of human society, each limb minded its own work and all led up to the complete and perfect life of Aryan society. The Brahmin held the torch of Wisdom, Love and Sacrifice. The Kshatriya mindful of the laws given him by the former wielded princely powers and practising the ideal within practical worldly limits, guarded the Dharma by watching over men's actions. The Vaisya without greed or lust increased the wealth of the nation by embracing all arts and sciences that contribute to the mundane comforts and conveniences. And the Sudras formed, as it were, the back-bone of the nation and took to very many works including even cultivation of lands, all of which the other castes cannot attend to. There were also the Panchamas. To them also various works were allotted and they were recognised as part and parcel of our nation. Thus in olden days the Aryan society, with all its members, castes and out-castes, worked harmoniously and made our Race command reverence and even worship throughout the old world. But latterly the ideal of love and sacrifice, the true sense of Dharma, losing its sway over men's minds, the parts fell off. In places of the "other-regarding" love, sacrifice and charity, the love of selfish posession wields authority and makes selfish competition all the keener. Instead of one caste minding Vaisya Dharma, and another the Sudra Dharma, all castes and even out-castes madly hunt nowadays after *trade* and *service*, and confusedly run in each other's face. The Brahmana Dharma and the Kshatriya Dharma, the Brain power and the Muscle power, have been for long left to dwindle away. Hence our modern political and economic difficulties.

4. That this assembly holds that the above conception of Varna Dharma is the true form of democracy. Democracy cannot mean licence to invade on other men's rights, nor the rule of the incompetent, nor mob-confusion. It is a system of Government which, giving authority to those *fit* to exercise it, extends the ordinary comforts of life to one and all, young and old, without distinction of caste, creed, sex or colour. That *fitness* arises in two aspects very necessarily, viz., Shastra-Jnanam (the knowledge of the Laws) and Desa-Bhakti (the love of people). The latter is descernible in the response which it elicits from the messes, in their reverence and even worship. But the former qualification must be found out by a council of pandits in controversy. The ordinary comforts of life are secured to one and all by the faithful discharge of the duties enjoined on such men of authority by Shastras which are *Rishiproktam*,

not *Kalpitam*; for the Shastras lay down rules carefully which can secure comforts to all, from the Brahmin to the Panchama, without sacrificing anyone's rights. That men of one caste cannot assume the role of another is justified partly by an assured fitness gauranteed by heredity. If a man of a particular caste possesses, by certain coincidents, *capacity* to do the work of another caste, it is not wasted when he is forbidden to do so; for if he is really mindful of such service, his death ashurs him in a suitable caste in the next birth. A people who profoundly believe in *punarjanmam*, the reincarnation of souls, cannot find the above exposition either unpleasant or incomprehensible.

5. That this assembly for the above reasons and more, sincerely believes that Varnashrama is the only eternal and all-embracing religion and a Conference to foster the interest of such a catholic religion cannot be calculated to engender spite or to aggravate it.

6. That this assembly therefore prays that all Hindus in whose heart there still burns the ancient love of Sanatana Dharma endeavour to make successful any and every attempt to regenerate the Religion of the Rishis.

The Draft Resolutions of the Madras Provincial Varnashrama Dharma Conference, Tanjore, 1921.

1. This Conference records its conviction that the preservation of the Varnasharma Dharma constitutes the only means of maintaining the peace, happiness and prosperity of the Hindus as well as of their very national individuality.

2. This Conference while in full sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the national assemblies of India strongly deprecates the introduction therein of religious and socio-religious questions like interdining, intermarriage, untouchability, unrestricted entry into temples, and the like.

3. This Conference views with grave concern and emphatically protests against the introduction by means of judicial decisions and legislative enactments of innovations and alterations in the Hindu Law which are opposed to the established system of Varnashrama Dharma and the usage of the Hindu community in general.

4. This Conference enters its strong protest against the Civil Marriage Bill of Dr. Gour sought to be introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

5. This Conference protests against the diversion of public religious and charitable funds for purposes other than what they are originally endowed for and against the legislation of much improper diversion by judicial framing of schemes or by legislative measures.

6. That this Conference is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to take up on hand the education and practical training of our boys in conformance of the teachings of the Varnashrama Dharma.

7. This Conference urges upon the Hindu public the immediate necessity for starting and maintaining English and Vernacular Dailies to safeguard and advance the religious, social and political interests of the followers of Varnashrama Dharma.

8. In view of the present situation of the country this Conference recommends the formation of Hindu unions in all villages and towns to safeguard the interests of the followers of Varnashrama Dharma in all matters.

9. This Conference records its strong disapprobation of the practice of demanding Varasukla and calls upon all followers of Varnashrama Dharma to work to bring about a discontinuance of the same.

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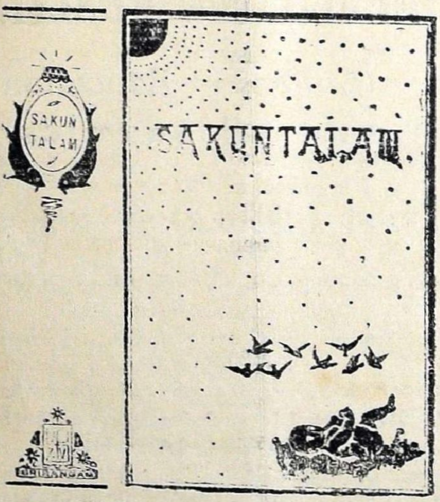

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